

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 MADRID 08685

FOR SECRETARIES BROWN AND VANCE FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O.11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: OVIP, US, SP (GUTIERREZ MELLADO, D.MANUEL)
SUBJ: DEFENSE MINISTER GUTIERREZ MELLADO'S VISIT TO THE
UNITED STATES

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: THE AUGUST 1-2 OFFICIAL VISIT TO WASHINGTON OF SPANISH DEFENSE MINISTER (AND FIRST VICE PRESIDENT) MANUEL GUTIERREZ MELLADO PROVIDES A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS TOGETHER WITH THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, AND AT A HIGH LEVEL, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP ENVISAGED IN THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WHICH CAME INTO EFFECT IN SEPTEMBER 1976, AS WELL AS TO BEGIN TO CHART THE COURSE FOR THE TREATY'S REMAINING THREE YEARS.

2. THE US WAS REMARKABLY FORTUNATE IN AVOIDING A DETERIORATION OF THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP AFTER FRANCO'S DEATH
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IN NOVEMBER 1975 AND DURING THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY WHICH HAS OCCURRED SINCE THEN. THE GOOD FORTUNE OF TIMING AND FARSIGHTEDNESS ON BOTH SIDES ENABLED US TO LAUNCH THE NEW TREATY AS THE FIRST MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ACT OF THE NEW ERA IN SPAIN, AND TO ASSOCIATE IT CLOSELY WITH SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY.

3. SPAIN'S VERY SUCCESS THUS FAR IN ITS DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION HAS INEVITABLY REMOVED THAT COUNTRY FROM THE CRISIS CATEGORY AND DISTRACTED THE ATTENTION OF POLICYMAKERS TO MORE IMMEDIATE, PRESSING PROBLEMS.

4. BUT THE PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN, SO IMPORTANT TO OUR INTERESTS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, AND INDEED AROUND THE WORLD, IS NOT AT THE POINT WHERE IT CAN BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. NOR ARE THE MODALITIES, OR INDEED THE DIRECTION AND POSITIVENESS OF SPAIN'S FUTURE SECURITY ORIENTATION. MAJOR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, CONTINUING TERRORISM AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES COULD SET BACK THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT. FURTHERMORE, THEY COULD CONTRIBUTE TO SERIOUS DELAYS IN THE MODERNIZATION AND INCREASED PROFESSIONALISM OF THE SPANISH MILITARY FORCES. THIS AT A TIME WHEN THE SELF-CONFIDENCE OF THE SPANISH MILITARY IS NOT HIGH, AND ITS IMPRESSION OF US INTEREST UNCERTAIN. ALL THESE FACTORS MAY BECOME CRUCIAL TO THE EVENTUAL SPANISH DECISION ON JOINING NATO, OR, WHETHER OR NOT SPAIN JOINS NATO, ON HOW EFFECTIVE A DEFENSE PARTNER SPAIN IS FOR THE UNITED STATES FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. IT THEREFORE BEHOVES US TO TREAT THE GUTIERREZ MELLADO VISIT AS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ONE WHICH COULD INFLUENCE OUR RELATIONS PROFOUNDLY, BOTH ON THE MILITARY AND ON THE CIVILIAN SIDE.

5. ON THE US SIDE, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THE TREATY
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HAS IN SOME RESPECTS COME TO BE REGARDED AS A CEILING ON OUR RELATIONSHIP, RATHER THAN A PLATFORM ON WHICH TO BUILD THIS HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY TRUE IN THE AREA OF ARMS TRANSFER POLICY, WHICH IS THE AREA WHICH MORE THAN ANY OTHER HAS LED THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO CONCLUDE THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TREATY NEEDS IMPROVEMENT. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT

6. THIS MESSAGE REFLECTS THE CONTENTS OF A TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING WHICH I HAD WITH GUTIERREZ MELLADO ON JULY 27. HIS TRIP TO THE US WAS UPPERMOST IN HIS MIND. THE DEFENSE MINISTER ASKED THAT THE US TAKE ACCOUNT OF DIFFICULTIES IN THE CURRENT SPANISH SITUATION AT THIS TIME. THE MOST SERIOUS PRE-OCCUPATION OF THE GOS ARE TERRORISM AND THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY. I ASSURED HIM OF THE DESIRE OF THE US, FROM THE PRESIDENT ON DOWN, FOR CLOSE COOPERATION WITH SPAIN, WITH BOTH SIDES CONTRIBUTING WHAT THEY CAN TO OUR COMMON INTERESTS.

7. THE JUSMG CHIEF THEN BRIEFED GUTIERREZ MELLADO ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, FOLLOWING WHICH THE DEFENSE MINISTER SPOKE FOR THE BETTER

PART OF AN HOUR, GIVING HIS VIEWS ON THE OVERALL SUBJECT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 1976 TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION, AS WELL AS COVERING A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC ISSUES. I HAVE LITTLE DOUBT THAT HIS PRESENTATION TO YOU WILL COVER MUCH OF THE SAME GROUND OUTLINED BELOW.

MAJOR ISSUES

8. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TREATY. GUTIERREZ MELLADO MADE THE FOLLOWING MAJOR POINTS TO ME, MANY OF WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE BEFORE, MOST RECENTLY TO CONGRESSIONAL VISITORS INCLUDING SENATOR BYRD AND CONGRESSMEN PHILIP BURTON AND CHARLES WILSON. THESE VIEWS, IT SHOULD BE ADDED, ARE

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FOR SECRETARIES BROWN AND VANCE FROM THE AMBASSADOR

WIDELY SHARED WITHIN THE GOS, AND TO A SOMEWHAT LESSER DEGREE AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

-- THERE HAS BEEN A DECLINE IN THE VALUE AND SCOPE OF US SECURITY ASSISTANCE SINCE THE ORIGINAL AGREEMENT WITH SPAIN IN 1953. THE CURRENT SITUATION, HOWEVER, OF A NEWLY DEMOCRATIC SPAIN FACING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES UNDERLINES HIS ARGUMENT FOR A REVERSAL OF THIS TREND AND CLOSER MUTUAL COOPERATION -- A RETURN TO THE SPIRIT OF 1953, HE SAID.

-- WHILE THE US CONTINUES TO ENJOY FULL BENEFITS FROM THE TREATY -- THROUGH THE USE OF MILITARY FACILITIES HERE -- SPAIN SUFFERS SERIOUS LOSSES FROM THE EFFECT OF INFLATION ON SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROVIDED UNDER THE TREATY.

-- IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY SPAIN, AS A DEFENSE PARTNER OF THE US IN A KEY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA, SHOULD NOT
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GET LARGELY THE SAME TREATMENT AS NATO, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND UNDER US ARMS TRANSFER POLICY. WE SHOULD NOT, IN SPAIN'S CASE, HAVE TO FIGHT EVERY CASE INVOLVING SALES, POSSIBLE CO-PRODUCTION OR TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS AS AN EXCEPTION.

-- WHILE HE DID NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTION THIS IN OUR MEETING, GUTIERREZ MELLADO HAS IN THE PAST SAID THAT THE BEST THING THAT COULD BE DONE WOULD BE FOR THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF TO ASK THE AMERICAN BUREAUCRACY TO BE MORE HELPFUL TO SPAIN.

9. OUR OWN RECORD ON IMPLEMENTING THE TREATY IS CERTAINLY FAR FROM NEGATIVE, AND WE COULD PROVIDE -- AND, IN FACT, THE JUSMG CHIEF DID PROVIDE -- A LONG CATALOGUE OF SPECIFICS IN WHICH WE HAVE BEEN RESPONSIVE TO SPANISH REQUESTS. MOREOVER, WE HAVE URGED THE SPANISH TO TAKE A BROADER VIEW OF THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP -- ONE BASED ON A COMMON INTEREST IN THE SECURITY OF THE WEST AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, RATHER THAN A NARROW CONCEPT OF BARGAINING BASES FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE. NEVERTHELESS, THE SPANISH HAVE SOME JUSTIFICATION IN USING THE SAME ARGUMENTS WITH US -- ARE WE DOING ALL WE CAN IN OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE INTEREST TO HELP SPAIN BE AN EFFECTIVE DEFENSE PARTNER?

10. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT FOR THE US TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO SPANISH REQUESTS IN THE AREA OF ARMS TRANSFERS, WHICH IS ONE OF THEIR PRINCIPAL CONCERNS. MORE SPECIFICALLY, WE RECOMMEND THAT WE MAKE A POLICY DECISION THAT SPAIN SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO ACQUIRE ARMS THAT ARE IN THE NATO INVENTORY IN EUROPE ON TERMS SIMILAR TO THOSE GIVEN OUR ALLIES, AND TO ATTUNE TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND CO-PRODUCTION DECISIONS IN SPAIN'S CASE MORE TO THE LEVEL OF
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COOPERATION WITH OUR NATO ALLIES. TO DO SO WOULD PROVIDE IMPORTANT SUPPORT FOR OUR OBJECTIVES OF CEMENTING OUR BI-

LATERAL DEFENSE RELATIONS WITH SPAIN, INCREASING THE CAPABILITIES AND PROFESSIONALISM OF THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES, AND ENCOURAGING AND PROVIDING THE CAPABILITY FOR A GREATER SPANISH CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE. IT WOULD ALSO PUT US IN A FAR STRONGER POSITION TO ARGUE OUR CASE TO THE SPANISH FOR PERMITTING US MORE FLEXIBILITY IN THE USE OF MILITARY FACILITIES HERE -- ON SUCH ISSUES AS NPW VISITS AND THE USE OF BASES FOR AIR OPERATIONS -- ALTHOUGH WE SHALL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO BE PATIENT ON FLEXIBILITY ISSUES UNTIL SPAIN'S INTERNAL POLITICAL DEBATE OVER ITS FUTURE SECURITY ORIENTATION IS RESOLVED POSITIVELY.

11. I WOULD URGE, THEREFORE, A SYMPATHETIC HEARING FOR GUTIERREZ MELLADO'S POINTS ON THIS SCORE, AND AN UNDERTAKING TO SEE HOW THE USG MIGHT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE MORE EXPEDITIOUS AND HELPFUL RESPONSES TO SPANISH REQUESTS IN THIS AREA.

12. SPAIN AND NATO. THE WAY IN WHICH WE HANDLE THE BROAD ISSUE OF TREATY IMPLEMENTATION CAN ALSO HAVE AN IMPORTANT EFFECT ON PROGRESS TOWARD SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO. THE PRINCIPAL DETERMINANTS OF SPANISH ENTRY ARE DOMESTIC POLITICAL FORCES AND ATTITUDES WITHIN THE SPANISH MILITARY. A MORE RESPONSIVE US POSITION ON IMPLEMENTING ARMS TRANSFER POLICY WOULD CERTAINLY STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE GOS ON THE NATO QUESTION, IN EFFECT DEMONSTRATING THE KINDS OF BENEFITS WHICH THE POSITIVE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD NATO CAN BRING. TO WITHHOLD SUCH BENEFITS -- TO INSIST THAT ONLY BY JOINING NATO CAN SPAIN ENTER INTO A TRUE PARTNERSHIP WITH THE US -- WILL ONLY REINFORCE THE ARGUMENTS OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE SPANISH MEMBERSHIP AND USE THE ARGUMENT THAT THE US IS WONT TO APPLY HEAVY-HANDED PRESSURE.

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13. GUTIERREZ MELLADO ONLY TOUCHED ON THE ISSUE OF NATO MEMBERSHIP IN OUR CONVERSATION, AND I WOULD NOT EXPECT HIM

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FOR SECRETARIES BROWN AND VANCE FROM THE AMBASSADOR

TO SAYMUCH BEYOND A PREDICTION ON WHEN THE GOVERNMENT MAY
BEGIN DEBATE ON THE SUBJECT IN PARLIMENT -- PROBABLY AFTER
MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS TO BE HELD SOME TIME IN JANUARY OR
FEBRUARY, ACCORDING TO A RECENT REMARK BY THE FOREIGN
MINISTER TO ME. OUR PUBLIC POSITION, AS YOU KNOW, IS THAT
WE WOULD WELCOME SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO BUT THAT IT IS A
MATTER WHICH THE SPANISH THEMSELVES MUST DECIDE. IT WOULD
HELP TO REPEAT THIS TO GUTIERREZ MELLADO AND TO ASSURE HIM
THAT WE WISH TO BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE TO THE GOS ON
THIS ISSUE AND NOT TO CAUSE THE SPANISH ANY DOMESTIC
PROBLEMS.

SPECIFIC ISSUES.

14. WITHIN THE BROAD FRAMEWORK OF THESE TWO ISSUES, THERE
ARE SPECIFIC ITEMS WHICH YOU AND GUTIERREZ MELLADO MAY WISH
TO RAISE. BASED ON OUR MEETING OF THE 27TH, THE FOLLOWING
WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE AMONG THOSE THE DEFENSE MINISTER WILL
COVER:

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15. TERRITORIAL COMMAND NETWORK (TCN). IN OUR DISCUSSIONS
GUTIERREZ MELLADO CHARACTERIZED THE TCN AS THE FIRST TIME
THE US HAD REALLY FAILED ON A PROJECT HERE. THE COMMUNI-
CATIONS SYSTEM DOES NOT FUNCTION ADEQUATELY, HE SAID, AND
GUTIERREZ MELLADO FOUND THE FINANCIAL CLAIMS OF THE US
CONTRACTOR NOT CLEARLY JUSTIFIED. HE SAID HE WAS COMMITTED
TO COOPERATING IN TRYING TO GET THE SYSTEM TO WORK PROPERLY
AND TO PAY WHAT IS JUST FOR IT, ASSUMING THAT THE US WOULD
BEAR ITS SHARE OF THE INCREASED COST. HE EXPRESSED GREAT
CONCERN THAT IF THIS ISSUE IS NOT SETTLED PROPERLY IT COULD
LEAD TO A POLITICAL SCANDAL WITH DEBATE IN THE SPANISH

PARLIAMENT AND THE PROSPECT OF IT SERIOUSLY AFFECTING OUR RELATIONS.

16. YOU WILL NO DOUBT BE THOROUGHLY BRIEFED ON THE BACKGROUND OF THIS UNHAPPY PROJECT. THE SPANISH WILL BE SENDING A TEAM TO THE US ON OR ABOUT SEPTEMBER 15 TO DISCUSS ALL ASPECTS OF IT -- TECHNICAL, FINANCIAL AND LEGAL. I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT YOU REASSURE GUTIERREZ MELLADO THAT THE US ARMY IS COMMITTED TO ENSURING THAT REMAINING PROBLEMS IN THE SYSTEM ARE CORRECTED, AND THAT WE HOPE THE SPANISH VISIT WILL MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS IN RESOLVING OUR DIFFERENCES. AFTER THIS MEETING, WE SHOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO CONSIDER WHAT STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO PREVENT THIS PROBLEM FROM BECOMING A MORE SERIOUS ISSUE IN OUR RELATIONS.

17. TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF US SECURITY ASSISTANCE. THE DEFENSE MINISTER EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN OVER THE INTEREST RATES NOW BEING CHARGED ON FMS LOANS. HE NOTED THE LATEST QUOTATION OF AN AVERAGE 8.6 PERCENT CITED IN THE JUSMG CHIEF'S BRIEFING, SAYING THAT AT A ROUGH CALCULATION THIS WOULD MEAN INTEREST PAYMENTS OF SOME \$200
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MILLION OVER THE TERM OF \$600 MILLION IN LOAN FUNDS UNDER THE TREATY. HE SAID THAT SPAIN FOUND IT HARD TO CONSIDER THIS A FORM OF ASSISTANCE, BUT RATHER SAW IT AS A COMMERCIAL OPERATION PROFITABLE TO US INDUSTRIES AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. HE THOUGHT THE PRESIDENT COULD REDUCE INTEREST RATES AS HE CLAIMED HAD BEEN DONE IN A FEW OTHER CASES.

18. OFFER ON SHIPS. WE HAVE STILL NOT RESOLVED WITH THE SPANISH WHAT KINDS OF SHIPS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM AS SUBSTITUTES FOR THOSE WHICH WERE OFFERED UNDER SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT 7 OF THE 1976 TREATY (4-MSOS AND 1-ARL) BUT WHICH THEY DECIDED THEY DID NOT WANT. IN OUR CONVERSATION GUTIERREZ MELLADO CHARACTERIZED OUR LAST OFFER ON SHIPS (TWO SUBMARINES AND TWO CASA GRANDE CLASS LSD'S) AS ENTIRELY UNSATISFACTORY, AND EXPRESSED WONDER THAT THE US COULD NOT OFFER MORE MODERN SHIPS. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE SPANISH NAVY CHIEF OF STAFF HAS SENT A LETTER TURNING DOWN OUR LAST OFFER. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE SPANISH DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH OUR OWN NAVY FACES IN ITS MODERNIZATION EFFORTS NOW UNDERWAY. HOWEVER, I WOULD URGE A RENEWED EFFORT TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE, WHICH HAS NOW DRAGGED ON TOO LONG.

19. AIRCRAFT PURCHASES. THE DEFENSE MINISTER EXPRESSED GENERAL SATISFACTION WITH THE STATUS OF AIRCRAFT TRANSFERS

SPECIFICALLY REFERRING TO THE F-16 AND F-4C PROGRAMS. THE F-4CS, WHICH THE SPANISH DECIDED TO BUY IN LIEU OF LEASING F-4ES, AS PROVIDED IN SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT 7 UNDER THE TREATY, HAVE BEGUN TO ARRIVE IN COUNTRY. AS FOR F-16S, I BELIEVE THAT AN EVENTUAL SPANISH DECISION TO BUY THIS OR A SIMILAR AIRCRAFT, AS ENVISIONED UNDER THE TREATY, WILL PROBABLY DEPEND HEAVILY ON FINANCIAL TERMS AND POSSIBILITIES FOR CO-PRODUCTION.

20. SPANISH DEFENSE INDUSTRY. GUTIERREZ MELLADO REFERRED
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TO THE SPANISH DESIRE FOR US SUPPORT IN BUILDING UP ITS DEFENSE INDUSTRY. THE SPANISH FEEL THAT BY NOT BEING MORE FORTHCOMING IN THIS AREA WE HAVE SERIOUSLY DILUTED THE VALUE OF THE PROVISION IN THE TREATY (SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT 7) WHICH COMMITS US TO GIVE "PROMPT CONSIDERATION" TO

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PROPOSALS FOR COOPERATION IN PROJECTS INVOLVING THE PRODUCTION OF DEFENSE ITEMS IN SPAIN. THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS RECENTLY ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR A VISIT OF SPANISH INDUSTRIALISTS TO THE US TO DISCUSS THE MANUFACTURE IN

SPAIN OF EQUIPMENT FOR THREE FRIGATES WHICH ARE TO BE BUILT HERE UNDER LICENSE. YOU MIGHT POINT OUT THIS AS A WELCOME DEVELOPMENT AND INDICATE OUR READINESS TO CONSIDER FURTHER SPANISH REQUESTS.

21. FOR YOUR PART, YOU WILL NO DOUBT WISH TO EMPHASIZE TO GUTIERREZ MELLADO THE IMPORTANCE TO OUR MILITARY OPERATION AND OVERALL DEFENSE POSTURE IN EUROPE OF HAVING GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN OUR USE OF FACILITIES IN SPAIN. SPANISH SENSITIVITIES ON THIS SCORE ARE CONSIDERABLE, GIVEN THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION HERE, AND THEY ARE INCLINED TO INTERPRET THE TREATY AND ITS IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENTS RATHER NARROWLY. GUTIERREZ MELLADO EXPRESSED A WILLINGNES TO BE FLEXIBLE AND WORK WITHIN THE SPIRIT OF THE TREATY IF THE US IS PREPARED TO DO LIKEWISE. THE EMBASSY HAS FOUND THAT USUALLY A CAUTIOUS, STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH IS BEST IN SECRET

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OBTAINING FOR US THE INCREASED FLEXIBILITY WE DESIRE. YOU WILL NO DOUBT BE RECEIVING A THOROUGH BRIEFING ON THIS GENERAL SUBJECT, BUT WE WOULD OFFER THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS:

22. NPW VISITS. FOR POLITICAL REASONS, PROGRESS IN GETTING SPANISH AGREEMENT TO PERMIT MORE NPW VISITS, AND TO OPEN UP OTHER PORTS BEYOND ROTA TO NPWS, HAS BEEN SLOW. PROSPECTS LOOK GOOD, HOWEVER, FOR SPANISH AGREEMENT TO AN NPW VISIT TO THE MEDITERRANEAN PORT OF CARTAGENA IN SEPTEMBER. GUTIERREZ MELLADO EMPHASIZED TO ME THAT THE GOS APPRECIATE OUR NEEDS, BUT CAUTIONED ON THE REQUIREMENT FOR VERY CAREFUL HANDLING OF NPW VISITS. HE ALSO RAISED THE POINT THAT NPW VISITS ENTAIL PORT SURVEYS AND ENVIRONMENTAL MONITORING ACTIVITIES WHICH THE SPANISH CONDUCT AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE AND WITHOUT HAVING HAD APPROPRIATE TECHNICAL TRAINING. HE URGED MORE US SUPPORT IN PROVIDING EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING FOR SPANISH NAVAL PERSONNEL IN THE AREA OF ENVIRONMENTAL MONITORING. A NOD IN THIS DIRECTION FROM YOU WOULD CERTAINLY HELP THINGS ALONG. YOU MIGHT ALSO WANT TO THANK GUTIERREZ MELLADO SPECIFICALLY FOR HIS HELPFULNESS ON THE CARTAGENA REQUEST.

23. USAF OPERATIONS. THE US AIR FORCE HAS LONG BEEN ANXIOUS TO EXERCISE THE USE OF THE AIR BASE AT MORON, WHERE OUR PRESENCE UNDER THE TREATY IS LIMITED TO CARETAKER STATUS. WE ATTEMPTED EARLIER THIS YEAR TO GAIN SPANISH APPROVAL FOR EXERCISING OF THE FACILITY THERE WITH AIRCRAFT FROM OUTSIDE SPAIN, WHICH IS WHAT THE AIR FORCE WANT MOST. THIS WAS TURNED DOWN PARTLY AT LEAST DUE TO THE SHORT LEAD TIME GIVEN, AND THE MOST THE SPANISH WOULD PERMIT WAS A SMALL EXERCISE INVOLVING AIRCRAFT FROM IN-

COUNTRY. THE AIR FORCE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO HAVE AS MUCH
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FLEXIBILITY AS POSSIBLE IN THE USE OF ORDNANCE RANGES AT BARDENAS REALES AND EL BERGANTINE, AND TO BE ABLE TO DEPLOY AIRCRAFT OR UNITS TO SPAIN TEMPORARILY TO EXERCISE OR SUPPORT OPERATIONS. IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE APPROPRIATE FOR YOU TO REEMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF SPANISH FACILITIES TO OUR AIR POSTURE IN EUROPE, AND OUR VIEW THAT GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN THE USE OF FACILITIES HERE WOULD SERVE OUR COMMON INTERESTS.

24. SPANISH PARTICIPATION IN EXERCISES. WE HAVE LONG TRIED TO ENCOURAGE GREATER SPANISH PARTICIPATION IN EXERCISES WITH US FORCES, BOTH FOR THE MUTUAL BENEFIT INVOLVED AND BECAUSE THEY DEEPEN THE OVERALL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP. THE SPANISH NAVY AND AIR FORCE HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY EAGER TO EXERCISE WITH US FORCES WHERE POSSIBLE, THOUGH THIS IS FAR LESS TRUE OF THE SPANISH ARMY. OUR CONTINUED INTEREST IN JOINT EXERCISES MIGHT BE WORTH MENTIONING. IN OUR CONVERSATION, GUTIERREZ MELLADO RECOGNIZED THE VALUE OF EXERCISES, BUT SAID THAT IT WOULD BE MORE WELCOME IF SPANISH FORCES WERE WELL EQUIPPED AND TRAINED TO BENEFIT PROPORTIONATELY FROM THEM. IN ANY CASE, THEY HAD TO BE CAREFULLY MONITORED TO ENSURE THAT THEY DID NOT TOUCH SENSITIVE POLITICAL NERVES.

25. IN SUM, THE SPANISH WILL BE WATCHING OUR TREATMENT OF GUTIERREZ MELLADO VERY CLOSELY, AND THE VISIT OFFERS US AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE TO THEM THAT WE TAKE OUR PARTNERSHIP RELATIONSHIP WITH FULL SERIOUSNESS AND INTEND TO BE AS FORTHCOMING AS WE CAN. IN THIS WAY WE MAY MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD A NEW PSYCHOLOGY UNDER WHICH BOTH PARTNERS DO ALL THEY CAN FOR THE OTHER OUT OF MUTUAL INTEREST, RATHER THAN EACH TREATING THE RELATIONSHIP AS A CONTINUING BARGAINING PROCESS. TODMAN

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